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EDWARD BELLAMY, EDITOR.

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The industrial system of a nation, as well as its political system, ought to be a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Currycombs have gone up. The currycomb trust has not been long under way, but it is producing results.

The annual report on the statistics of railroads in the United States, issued from the office of the interstate commerce commission, shows that the capitalization is \$60,000 and a fraction per mile. As the roads could be built for \$15,000 per mile, the public has a very good idea of the extent of overcharging in passenger and freight rates. The railway system of this country should be run by the people, for the people, rather than by speculators for speculators.

Two stout horses can draw say two tons. This being the case, it would require 5500 teams to draw the silver now in the United States treasury. Silver is a commodity, like cotton, and one would think that our old parties had put under way a very tidy sub-treasury scheme in authorizing the United States treasurer to buy three and a half wagon loads of silver per day as a basis upon which to issue a paper money. Why are the silver mine owners made a favored class? This is a question now commonly asked

on the farms of the west and the plantations of the south.

Mr. Balfour, the conservative leader of the British House of Commons, is engaged in patchwork measures to relieve agricultural England. The small holdings bill to be introduced at the next session is being industriously talked up by the conservatives; but Mr. Balfour himself does not seem over-sanguine of the results. He advises the farmers to try co-operative farming. He wants to see the ancient yeomanry of the realm restored, but it is very evident that he is not the man to do it. Parliament needs new blood.

Lincoln's Prophecy.

The following letter from ex-Senator Ingalls of Kansas was recently sent to the Washington (D. C.) Star:

To the Star: In a recent issue of The New Nation I find this alleged quotation from President Lincoln: "I see in the near future," said Abraham Lincoln in 1865, "a crisis approaching that unnerves me, and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war."

The same extract has been floating through the journals of anarchy and socialism for several years, and has been a favorite paragraph with pessimistic orators in their appeals to the passions of the poor.

It does not appear in any of the published messages, speeches or letters of Lincoln. The internal evidence is against its authenticity. The words, the style, the construction are like nothing in his composition. Mr. Nicolay, his former secretary, has never seen nor heard such expressions in the writings or utterances of President Lincoln.

Evidently it is a malignant clumsy forgery. Yours,

JNO. J. INGALLS,

Atchison, Kan., Nov. 17.

We would remind the honorable gentleman from Kansas that upon the 3d of December, 1861, President Lincoln sent to Congress one of his historic messages. Its closing paragraphs, even read at this day, carry the impress of a great concern for the rights of man. He declared that "monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism." Mr. Lincoln's thought was evidently running on the relation of political power to property, a question raised by the issue of slavery and the capital which labor produces. "There is one point with its connections," continued Mr. Lincoln, "to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government. . . . Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. . . . No men living are

more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty — none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."

So far as the immediate issues were concerned, it was not necessary to go into the philosophy of capital at that time, but the great statesman was looking at the fundamentals, and he pointed to a danger beside which negro slavery was an incident, the despotism of capital over labor, and then he warned the laborer to hold fast to his political privileges lest "all of liberty shall be lost."

Abraham Lincoln was a prophet, and in a few years, — even before the war closed, — the door of advancement was closed to the average laborer. A friend of Mr. Lincoln, a resident of Illinois, wrote to the president in 1865 for a fuller statement of his views, and an explanation of the closing passages of his message of December, 1861, which we have quoted above. It was in answer to this appeal that he wrote the letter quoted in *The New Nation* which Mr. Ingalls calls a "malignant, clumsy forgery." We are not an expert on letter-writing, but certainly the prophecy of '61 and the anxiety of '65 have a marked family likeness. The prophecy he made; it was fast proving true in 1865, and it is natural that he should say so.

The process of cornering the business of the country, well under way in 1865, has since reached a point where even a counting house clerk can calculate the period of the culmination of this conspiracy against labor and the liberties of a great people. If in 1860, 30 per cent of the people of the United States owned 50 per cent of the property, how long will it take for one man to own one half and the rest of the people one half? Or how long will it take for 5000 people to own 99 per cent of the country's wealth?

The Churches and Nationalism.

We trust that our readers will look over the column elsewhere printed of recent utterances of the pulpit in behalf of the cause of radical social reform. It is such voices as these that convince us that the churches of America are not going to make again, and on a far vaster scale, the mistake they made a generation ago in opposing or ignoring the anti-slavery agitation. In comparison with that movement, the present world-wide demand for a society that shall exemplify the Christian doctrine of human brotherhood is incomparably more important. By their failure to recognize the moral significance of the anti-slavery movement the Christian churches in America lost a prestige which they have never regained. If in the far greater and more radical issue of the social question which is now to the front, they shall fall into a similar mistake, their overthrow is likely to be irreparable. As we have said, we do not believe that the mistake will be made again. The attitude of the churches toward the coming social reformation is far more hopeful than it was toward the anti-slavery movement. In most, if unfortunately not in all, of the great Christian denominations there is a wing of reformers in the pulpit as radical (if a rather too indefinite) in their utterances as the

nationalists themselves. A fact, the significance of which can scarcely escape the notice of their brethren is that these men of radical ideas on the subject of social reform are the most popular men of their respective denominations. It was said of the ministry of Jesus Christ that "the common people heard him gladly," and just as fast and just as soon as the preachers of today shall drop the nonsense of the commentaries and the seminaries and begin to preach the gospel Christ preached, of human brotherhood, and the duty of strong to weak, they will find that the common people hear them, too, gladly.

It is often said that if Christ came again to-day as of old, he would be again rejected and crucified. We do not believe it. The world is ready for his second coming, and is longing for it. That second coming is at hand. It will not be in the clouds of heaven that he will come, but in the hearts of men, by the spread of the passion of brotherhood and the desire for its practical application to the industrial and social system. Interpreted in this sense the prophecy of the millenium is true and its fulfilment is at hand.

Nationalism is applied Christianity, and as fast as men shall be filled with the real desire to apply Christianity, they are bound to become nationalists, for there is no other way.

As Others see Us.

I presume you think Bellamy, in writing "Looking Backward," wrote just as his feelings prompted him, and that he believes his ideas will sometime be practised. On the contrary, he believes nothing of the kind, not being a socialist in any sense of the word, nor a believer in co-operativeness.

A subscriber of *The New Nation* sends us the above extract from a letter written him by a friend who felt it his duty to remonstrate with him for joining the nationalists. Robert Burns thought it would be a good plan if some power would give us the faculty

To see ourselves as others see us.

But if this is a fair sample of the way others see us we should decidedly prefer to depend on our own intuitions.

Certificates to the Poorhouse.

In the opinion of Thomas A. Edison, the inventor's certificate of patent is merely a certificate to the poorhouse. His own personal fortune, he adds, was made in manufacturing and not out of his patents. "I could not have made anything had I not had large capital back of me, and the ordinary inventor has no protection whatever." Edison, understanding his inventions better than outsiders, has been able to manipulate the manufacturing of them better.

This testimony is continually being corroborated even by manufacturers. An employee of a prominent company in New England recently said to a representative of *The New Nation*: "Although this concern owns scores of patents, a strong company with money and without our letters patent might enter the field, and with a little skill and a good deal of push soon rival us. The inventors as a rule either give away their rights or sell them for a song, and it is the moneyed man who makes money."

It is not too much to say that the patent system of this country is thoroughly discredited. It is money and not merit that commands the reward as a rule. The private

corporation uses the patent right as a weapon against the inventor and the public alike. For instance, the Western Union telegraph company makes it a point to buy up patented devices and then lock them up for a rainy day. Its service is many removes from what it might be if the latest or best inventions were adopted. So long as the public is content with poor service at high rates, things will go on as they are.

In the meantime, why cannot the public and the inventors move for a reform of the patent system simply as a remedial step? If a man of genius perfects a meritorious device, the general use of which would benefit the public, the general government should step in, buy him out and dedicate it to the public. In that case genius secures its reward and the public has the benefit of it. This, to be sure, is not a very radical reform. It is only a step toward that larger reform which contemplates the substitution of public for private conduct of business. The foundation idea of the United States patent system is the encouragement of invention. Practically, it is a system which enables a comparatively few men of money to force the public to pay tribute without having the satisfaction of knowing that genius gets its share of reward. It is about time to stop issuing certificates to the poorhouse in the form of letters-patent of the United States.

Trusts and Prices.

"Combination reduces both the prices of raw material and the finished product, and enables the manufacturer here to make fairer profit and at the same time to sell the twine at a lower figure." This is the remark of an officer of the National Cordage company to a New York Times reporter immediately after the purchase of another twine factory, the 45th that had surrendered to that vast corporation.

Within a fortnight from that last purchase rope went up in the market about 13 per cent. This is invariably the rule of trusts,—low prices while competition is being killed off, and higher prices when the trust conspiracy is consummated. The work of cornering the industries of the country is progressing rapidly.

Human Sympathy compared with Class Sympathy.

The Boston Record of a recent date contains among its suburban news, the following:

Tramps have given people a great deal of annoyance here of late. They have called at the best houses and demanded food and clothing and when not given to them they became very abusive.

It was wrong for the tramps to become abusive. To be abusive is both wicked and unwise. But knowing human nature to be no better than it should be, we are not surprised to learn that the tramps were abusive. What does astonish us is that they should have applied for help at "the best houses." This was a mistake which clearly indicates that they were inexperienced in appealing to the sympathies of the public. Otherwise they would scarcely have failed to observe that it is not the well-to-do but the poor who are kindest to the poor.

The daily press is full of texts for nationalists, and the above item furnishes one to hand. Why is it that the poor are proverbially kinder to the poor than are the rich? Certainly it is not because they are better able to be. Is it,

then, because they are morally better than the rich? Certainly no social reformer can believe this, for if poverty makes people kinder than comfort, why then we are dead wrong in trying to make everybody more comfortable. The explanation is a very simple one. Sympathy springs from likeness of conditions and experience. Without this likeness true sympathy is impossible, because it's very sense implies a common feeling between two or more persons, which is possible only in proportion as a like experience enables them to put themselves mentally in each other's place. The poor sympathize with the hungry because they know what it is to be hungry. The almsgiving of the rich is for the most part a cold perfunctory thing, an act of duty performed without fellow feeling, and for the most part blessing neither him that gives nor him that takes.

In stating this as a fact we do not blame the rich. They cannot, if they would, sympathize with a condition quite foreign to their experience. Reciprocally are the poor unable to appreciate and to sympathize with the troubles of the well-to-do. It seems to them that there can be no trouble when there is enough to eat and wear. So also is it with the relations of the educated with the ignorant. Each has no idea of the other's world.

In this manner the currents of human sympathy, which should unite all human beings, and know no limit but the race, are hindered, checked and dammed up on every side by class distinctions, which make men aliens to one another, whereby mankind suffers incalculable moral loss.

Nationalism will break down these barriers and bring humanity together heart to heart and hand in hand. Hitherto the world has, for the most part, known only class sympathy. Nationalism will develop human sympathy.

Country Roads and Nationalism.

The Boston Watchman has the following:

Our country roads, to which public attention is just now directing, are an example of some of the bad effects of nationalism. These roads are for the public, owned by the public, used by the public, cared for by the public, and yet their condition, as a rule, is execrable, and a good part of the money spent on them is wasted. The old-fashioned corporation roads were far better. It is in order for the nationalists to tell us whether some other matters of public concern would be similarly administered if intrusted to public ownership, and if not, why not?

Why does the Watchman draw the line at country roads? City streets are owned and managed by the public as much as country roads, and the argument for surrendering the country roads to the corporation applies equally to the streets of the cities. The Watchman should have the courage of its convictions and follow its logic out.

We quote the above extract as a striking indication of the reaction against popular government and popular institutions which is going on in this country. The effect of the nationalist agitation is to unmask the enemies of the democratic idea and force them into the open field, for nationalism means simply the application of democracy to industry, and no believer in the democratic idea will be found in the end opposed to it.

As for the matter of the roads, the Watchman takes a very narrow view of the subject. Roads are public works in all countries, and if the poor roads of this country are arguments against public control the magnificent roads of

Europe are a striking argument in favor of it. In point of fact roads are always poor in a new country, and improve as the population grows dense. The reason for this is the very obvious one that it is only in proportion as a population grows dense that it can afford the expense of making and maintaining first-class roads. If the country districts were required by law to maintain as good roads as those in and about cities, they would be bankrupted the first year. Undoubtedly country roads would be far better than they are but for the introduction during the past generation of railroads and the diversion to them of a great part of the travel and traffic of the country, the result being to render the dirt roads relatively less important.

While undoubtedly the administration of our country roads might be improved in various particulars, their imperfections are in the main the result of economic conditions, with which the method of their management has had little to do.

There is one respect in which, however, we might reasonably expect vastly improved country roads under nationalism. The effect of a national co-operative system of industry, of which the various elements work in concert according to a general plan and not competitively, will be to distribute throughout the country the workers now congested in cities. Instead of a few score great centers of population separated thereby by thinly settled wildernesses, the inhabitants of the United States will be distributed with a considerable degree of evenness. A necessary consequence of such a distribution of the people, will be good roads not only in the neighborhood of the cities but everywhere.

Will Boston wake up in Time.

The notable manner in which public opinion, even in the most conservative quarters, is asserting itself in favor of a more careful protection of municipal interests from the impositions of corporations, gives some degree of assurance that no street transit system will be accepted for Boston and its suburbs which does not assert the rights of the city to a far greater degree than they have ever before been recognized. But while half a loaf is better than no bread, it ought not to be accepted in place of the whole loaf when the latter can be had just as well. No person who reads the papers or observes the trend of economical discussion will question that the principle of municipal ownership of local transit systems, as well as of other public services, is gaining acceptance at a rate foreshadowing its general adoption in the near future. If Boston turns over its streets on a long lease to a corporation on any terms, however favorable they may seem, it will have failed to do the best thing possible for itself, and will begin to see the mistake from the minute the papers are signed.

Six months ago it seemed almost too much to hope that the local community would rouse to a sense of its own interests in this matter in time to protect them, but there have of late been many hopeful indications. The resolve of the rapid transit commission to inquire into European experience of the advantages of partial or complete municipal control of local transit systems, was the most serious set-back the West End company and the rival corporations which are intriguing for the streets, have received. Howell

Osborne's report to the commission of the results of that inquiry, ought to be the death-knell of corporate control of street transit in America. Perhaps we may recognize as one of its first effects the report of the Boston Merchants' association to the rapid transit commission upon the Spalding plan for a tunnel under Tremont street. While favoring the plan the report says explicitly: "This enterprise is one which the city alone should undertake. It should not be the property of any corporation."

"Land Bill" Allen dies in a Poorhouse.

The death of William Allen in the Franklin county infirmary, Ohio, last Sunday is indeed the sad close of a patriotic life. His personal fame rests mainly upon his services in agitating for a bill which passed in 1863, giving 160 acres of land to every settler upon the public domains in the west. It is a curious commentary on the partisan blindness of political writers that so prominent a paper as the New York Times recently quoted the homestead movement among the "crazes" of the century. That Allen did a great and noble thing in forcing, by his agitation, this law through Congress is admitted by all fair-minded men.

The sad news that "Land Bill" Allen had been forced to go to an Ohio poor house was printed in The New Nation a few weeks ago and several of our subscribers sent us sums of money for his relief. His death, however, terminates plans for his personal comfort, and the money will either be returned or spent as the givers may direct.

Mr. Allen not only spent a fortune of \$80,000 in advocating a national homestead law, but lost his farm in Perry county which was sold by the sheriff, and before going to the poor house he had been compelled to beg for his bread upon the streets. It was indeed a sad ending of a noble career; and stands out as another evidence of the brutalizing tendencies of cruel and selfish competition. If men would work for their fellow men as Allen did, no human being would be allowed to beg in the streets or to die in poverty.

Niagara Falls and the Mills.

It is proposed to run the machinery of the Chicago Fair buildings by electricity from power taken at Niagara Falls 475 miles away. Practical electricians pronounce the scheme practicable. If machinery can be run by the transmission of power 475 miles, machinery can be run anywhere along this route by tapping the wires. Here arises a question of great importance. The very thought of swarming speculators preying upon the public under the guise of free competition and exacting tribute like oriental potentates is alarming indeed. It is not many years since an inmate of a lunatic asylum invented a water wheel to be set up at Niagara Falls with a shaft running across New York state to Albany. From this shaft the inventor proposed to belt all the mills of the state, and it is a question whether after all Niagara Falls will not be harnessed and set at work running a thousand mills, and the country round about ruled by speculators. The state of New York has condemned and turned into a public park the environs of the falls. It was a good thing to do, and if the dealing out of the mill power from this natural wonder were also made a public function, it would be wiser political economy and better business than a dozen tariff reform bills.

THE FACTORY CHILDREN.

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
 Ere the sorrow comes with years ?
 They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
 And that cannot stop their tears.
 The young lambs are bleating in the meadows ;
 The young birds are chirping in the nest ;
 The young fawns are playing with the shadows ;
 The young flowers are blowing towards the west, —
 But the young, young children, O, my brothers,
 They are weeping bitterly.
 They are weeping in the playtime of the others.
 In the country of the free.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

PENSIONS FOR LABORERS.**How the State System in Germany is Working.**

The following letter from Berlin to the New York Tribune is worth quoting entire :

"The German state insurance law, as it is called, has now been in force 10 months. It is really not an insurance system at all, but an old-age annuity system ; and being universal and compulsory is one of the most extraordinary specimens of mingled paternalism and socialism that any existing government can show. Throughout the empire its working has been watched with close interest, and the popular verdict seems at present to be almost unanimously in its favor. In other countries, too, notably in England, it is closely studied with a view to its possible adoption, with of course, such modifications as the different circumstances and the public spirit might require.

"The grand duchy of Baden has been somewhat ahead of the rest of Germany in taking advantage of the law, and in systematically reporting upon its working. There has been published at Carlsruhe a detailed statement of the work done by the annuity department during the first six months of the law, from January 1 to June 30 of the present year. Perhaps these statistics make a rather more favorable showing than those of almost any other state would ; because in Baden there was the most complete preparation for the law, both in machinery for executing it and in instruction of the people regarding it. However this may be, in Baden the system is a great success. The number of persons applying for annuities in the six months were as follows : January, 488 ; February, 911 ; March, 563 ; April, 371 ; May, 184 and June, 170 — a total of 2,677. In the same months the number of annuities granted were : January, 330 ; February, 585 ; March, 321 ; April, 283 ; May, 232 and June 254 — a total of 2005. Of course, they will not keep on at anything like such a rate. The total population of Baden is less than 2,000,000. It has this year had to grant annuities to all eligible applicants of 70 years old and upward ; but henceforth it will only be called on to grant them to new applicants as fast as they reach that age. As the state only pays 50 marks or \$10 a year to each pensioner, the cost of 2,005 annuities is only 100,250 marks a year. The balance of the pensions, 154,397 marks, comes from the pension fund, which is contributed, one half by the holders of the policies and one half by their employers.

"For the purpose of this system the working population is divided into four classes. In the first are all who earn

less than 350 marks a year each. They are required to pay into the pension fund seven pfennig a week, and receive, after their seventieth year, an annuity of 106 marks, 80 pfennig each. The second class comprises those who earn from 350 to 550 marks a year. They pay 10 pfennig a week and receive an annuity of 135 marks. The third class comprises those whose earnings range from 550 to 850 marks. They pay 12 pfennig a week and receive 163 marks, 20 pfennig a year. And the fourth class includes those who earn from 850 to 2000 marks a year. They pay 15 pfennig a week and get an annuity of 191 marks 40 pfennig. Persons earning more than 2000 marks a year do not come under the operation of the law. It is reckoned that they ought to be able to save enough to take care of themselves in old age. Moreover, every applicant must prove that he earns at least one third of the average of wages in his district. Persons incapable of earning so much are objects of charity, and this annuity system is not in any sense a charity. Each applicant, too, must have been before receiving his annuity, a contributor to the fund for at least thirty years ; though that provision does not, of course, apply to those who are now 70 years old. All persons who were more than 40 years old when the law went into effect are allowed to subtract from the 30 years required, the number by which their ages at that time exceeded 40. Thus a man who on January 1 was 70 years old, could get his annuity at once ; one who was 60 can get it in 10 years ; one who was fifty can get it in 20 ; and one who was 40 can get it in 30.

"These annuities are small. They range, as stated, from about \$26 to about \$48 a year. Even the latter sum seems a beggarly pittance. It is to be remembered, however, that the annuities are intended to aid in procuring only the bare necessities of life, which are much less costly in Germany than in America. And they are paid, moreover, to all who reach the age of 70, no matter what their condition. It is to be supposed that a considerable proportion of those receiving them will be able also to go on earning wages for some years to come, so that the annuity will not be by any means their sole support. And, of course, many more will have saved something beside, or will have relatives who will contribute to their support. As to the cost of the system to the government, it is claimed that it is an actual saving of money. The government pays between \$12 and \$15 a year to each pensioner. By this means it prevents any of the classes affected from becoming paupers. To maintain a pauper costs about four times as much as is paid to each pensioner. Therefore, if without the annuities one fourth of the people now aided by them would become paupers, it actually pays, in dollars and cents, to grant the pensions. But would one fourth become paupers ? That would surely be a startlingly large proportion. One can only say that of late years the number of paupers in nearly all European countries has been increasing at a terrible pace. The number of almshouses and kindred institutions is legion. And until the American government began to take vigorous means to prevent it, there was a vast army of "assisted" pauper emigrants sent to the United States every year. Indeed, it is interesting to observe that the origin of this annuity scheme coincides in date pretty closely with the

closing of America's doors against beggars from over the sea.

"This system, as already stated, is compulsory. No German workman is allowed to choose whether or not he will take advantage of it. As soon as he is 16 years old, whether he wills to do so or not, he is compelled to pay his weekly quota to the pension fund. His employer, likewise, is compelled to pay an annual sum for him. Thus, when he reaches the age of 70 years he enters into the enjoyment of his pension with no loss of independence or self-respect. He does not receive it as a gratuity, but as the legitimate result of his own savings, albeit the saving was enforced upon him. Thus the system is, in one view, a piece of arbitrary government tyranny, and in another, it is practical socialism. And so, while it is a pet scheme of this autocratic government, it is equally popular with the people; perhaps most popular, wherever, as in Baden, democratic and socialistic ideas are most advanced."

THE PULPIT ON BUSINESS COMPETITION.

Rev. Alexander Kent of Washington, D.C., Thanksgiving sermon: The Episcopal church congress, which has just closed, revealed a surprising growth of socialistic sentiment in that body. Such with only one serious exception was the drift of all the speeches made on this subject. They realized that the present system is the practical negation of Christian teachings and Christian ethics — that if Christian ethics, or any other ethics, is to have a practical place in business, and society competition as now existing must go. Now, all this is very hopeful. The Episcopal church has been one of the most aristocratic and conservative of our religious bodies. It has as large a constituency of wealthy people, perhaps, as any church of the country. The utterances of this Congress, therefore, cannot mean less than that this social problem is stirring all classes of society. Really, if they could only see it, no class would be more directly and powerfully benefited by a change to some form of nationalism or socialism than the wealthy. What a care and burden would be taken from their minds if — a competence secured for themselves and their children — their surplus wealth were taken off their hands. They are slaves to riches as the poor are slaves to poverty. The care of these — and the care of a great retinue of servants, together with attention to the follies and dissipations of fashionable life, leave them as little time and opportunity for thought and study as have the poor. And most of all, what a change would come to most in the purpose and spirit of life, when the old selfish aims no longer held sway, when each should come to feel an interest in all, and realize that all were pledged to the care of each. Isn't this the only rational thought of heaven?

Rev. James M. Gray (Reformed Episcopal church) of Boston: The church is unfaithful. Its worldliness is seen in its questionable methods of raising money, its laxity of discipline, etc. The condition of the state shows a seething, riotous mass. Elections are a grasp for office; wealth is sought for self; rulers are less and less regarded as the representatives of God; humanity has little real respect for law, and the increasing jails and lunatic asylums, the growth of murder, the swelling of the lists of embezzle-

ments and thefts, the increasing desecration of the Sabbath, all point to the approach of the millenium, and the advent of Him who is to take vengeance in flaming fire.

Rev. Frauk Haven-Hinman, of South Boston: Are there those among us who take to themselves the rights of kings, those whom we must needs coddle, and fee, and worship, and fawn upon before we can stand any chance of being heard? Out from the ranks of the mass of human kind who make up our body politic, up from the gatherings of men who have given their lives for the betterment of all men, there comes at this hour, with mighty volume of sound, firm with conviction, and sharp with determination, the answer, yes.

Rev. Thomas Dixon of New York: The simple truth is that all this talk about the death of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union is cheap partisan twaddle. Its life was not involved in fight. It was not seriously affected by these elections, because it is primarily a moral, not a political movement. The movement is, in its last analysis, the religious nature of the millions who compose its rank and file. Not a single one of the problems that gave birth to this movement has been met as yet. They have been hooted out of court by hired assassins of thought in the older parties who fight not for principle but for office. In spite of good crops gambling in the bread of the starving world still holds its carnival of hell on the floor of your exchanges. Conservatives may hoot and pooh and bah, but the movement is one of resistless power. You might as well try to sweep back the sea with a goose's tail feather as to try to stop it with the pen of ridicule.

Rev. J. O. S. Huntington of New York: It is a dangerous condition, for the discontent is no longer confined to the laborer, but is shared by the young doctor, the young lawyer, and even the young clergyman. It is now an intellectual discontent, and is moving toward socialism.

Rev. H. M. Bartlett of Delaware: Given Christianity, democracy is sure to come. After democracy socialism will come. The writing is so plain that all can read.

Rev. P. W. Sprague of Charlestown, Mass.: Socialism presents the Christian idea of family, but for this Spencer would substitute the continuous strife and cutting of throats. Socialism is said to be just a matter of bread and butter; but can't you see that bread and butter can become a question of ethics and religion? A man is not his true self when he is striving for himself. Beware of treating this subject as anything but vital. Doubts stir the hearts of business men of the day as to whether they can remain Christians and carry on business as it is now carried on.

Rev. Wm. Pratt of Detroit, Mich.: The earliest believers in Christianity, the apostles themselves, recognized that Christianity was akin to socialism and acted upon that belief.

Rev. Dr. A. A. Miner of Boston: Down there in the slums you see the corruption; up there in the state house you see the fountain. You fail of your duty because you are harnessed to one of the great parties. Give any man the nomination, and he will get the party vote. Most men would do well, if they were led well, but they are the slaves of the caucus, and the devil knows who makes the caucus. There is no redress; you cannot escape the responsibility, unless you break from party bonds and embrace the spirit of Christ.

THANKSGIVING.

Oh ye who in your banquet halls,
Give thanks to God, remember, pray,
His children, too, and brothers all,
Who feel not "thankful" on this day.

Who, seeing man's inhuman greed,
And knowing wrong and bearing woe,
Have lost the hope to upward look,
And found the cause to downward go.

Remember ye that while ye feast,
A thousand faint, that so ye may.
Then chide them not, that while ye eat,
They go not on their knees, and pray.

And if ye would that they should love
A God they only know to fear,
Wrong Him no more with empty cant,
But stop your prayer to dry their tear.

When, like the meek and lowly Christ,
Ye "love each other," then ye may
Look on God's face with truthful eye,
And go upon your knees, and pray.

S. WARD TEMPLE, in Twentieth Century.

Maple, Ark.

REMARKABLE CHAPTER OF RECENT HISTORY.

Showing that the suppression of the Saloon does not need a Prohibition Party.

Mr. John Edgar of Rochester, Minn., writes to that excellent paper the Progressive Age of Minneapolis in advocacy of the proposition for making a government monopoly of the liquor business. He takes the ground that "the evils will be reduced to a minimum by the sale of all liquors by government agents. After that and with that the moral forces must do their never ending work." In the course of his argument Mr. Edgar gives a chapter from the history of the recent prohibition movement in the Southern states, strikingly proves that neither a prohibition party nor a total abstinence sentiment on the part of the community is necessary in order to close the saloons. He says:

"Prohibition, or the closing of the saloons, at the South has been a puzzle to our friends of the party prohibitionists. When it first drew their attention, they were in an ecstasy of delight. Here was the democratic South banishing the saloons from half its area, as estimated, and outdoing the republican north in its vain attempts at like work, and they jumped at the conclusion that all that was needed to complete the reform in that sunny region was to introduce there the improved party methods of the North; that thus they would break up the solid party, South, and the two old parties North, and then commingling the 'Blue and Gray' would wipe out Mason and Dixon's line, and with a full prohibition party, sweep the whole country on to victory. So the Lecture Bureau was formed, with a \$10,000 fund, to send out lecturers over the South, with Prof. A. A. Hopkins at their head, as field marshal, to convert the South to their improved party methods. It was an abortive attempt. Prof. Hopkins found a curious state of things:—the saloons closed, but even the men who helped to close them, still in private drinking their liquors; so that he reported the people, even the leaders, as "50 years behind in personal prohibition." Nearly every man of standing kept liquors in his house, used them freely, and supplied them to his guests.

Hopkins and his cohorts of lecturers were thunderstruck. Here was prohibition (the banishing of the saloon) without a party behind it,—prohibition, without even total absti-

nence behind it. They struggled through two campaigns, then dropped their undertaking, broke up their \$10,000 bureau, and left the South to manage the saloons in its own way. Their party papers, even the Voice, seems to omit now all boasting about the wonderful success of prohibition in the democratic South, and all that sentiment about the loving embraces of the 'Blue and the Gray.' They discovered that if prohibition was a success at the South, it was in direct opposition to their methods in the North. They went down to teach—to instruct, and expected to find ready learners. They came away confounded; but they did not learn two important lessons, that they might and should have learned, to wit: (1) Prohibition at the South does not need and would not have a party behind it. (2) It does not need and would not have total abstinence behind it to close the saloons.

"It is this second point especially to which I wish to call attention. Over a large area they have come to the conclusion that they do not want and will not have the saloon, a fester upon the body politic, a breeding place for crime and criminals. In their methods, they did not set out with the theory and platform, 'To prohibit the manufacture and sale, the importation and transportation of all intoxicants as a beverage.' Nothing of the kind. They undertook to banish the saloon, but never thought of stopping the making—the buying and the selling for private, personal use at home, and the very men who used liquors daily in their own houses, joined with the total abstainers to wipe out the saloons. Let us learn of these men the important lesson: the way to destroy the saloon is not to abolish the manufacture and sale of intoxicants in all ways, but so to provide for the sale as to make it impossible for the saloon to live. Great multitudes of men who use liquor moderately do not want the saloons and will join with us for their overthrow, if only some other way is provided for the sale of liquors. For this the agency plan of the Maine law, improved in the two respects, to sell without profit and without foolish questioning, seems to me the best,—Down with the saloon."

MUNICIPAL LIGHTING IN PAWTUCKET.

Fall River (Mass.) Herald: The city council of Pawtucket, R. I., decided to get facts about the cost of an electric light plant, a proposition which the supreme ruler (mayor) is opposed to possibly because he is interested in the companies that are now lighting the city. However, he did not dare to invite public condemnation by acting too boldly, and allowed the resolution to go into effect without a veto. There was a purpose in this, apparently, for he renders an inquiry impossible by not appointing two aldermen. An independent investigation is feasible, so that the obstructionist's trickery can be obviated. When the investigators begin their work, we trust that they will act differently from the way followed by the Fall River committee, which appears to have entrusted its work to a representative of the local lighting company, with the result that the most astonishing report ever prepared for the city council of this municipality was submitted, in which everything unfavorable that could be conceived was gathered for the discomfiture of the economists.

A GOOD BARGAIN.

A correspondent who has accepted The New Nation and the Arena offer writes very enthusiastically about his bargain. He continues: "The matter is uniformly interesting, well condensed and in every way as perfect as we can ask for. I have no fear that any one who believes in progress and can appreciate good writing and a neat page will be disappointed with either publication. I write this hoping it may be encouraging to you, and be an inducement to others to send the required amount and try them for at least one year."

THE FIELD OF POLITICS.

THE OFFICIAL COUNT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The People's Party and the Socialist Labor Vote.

	People's party.	Socialist Labor.
Governor	Winn 1772	Robinson . . . 1429
Lieut.-Gov.	Shields . . . 2399	Peare 1471
Sec'y of State . . .	Cadle 3729	Theinert . . . 1607
Treasurer	Watson . . . 2851	Friede 2220
Auditor	Wakefield . 2859	Putney 2525
Attorney-Gen. . . .	McIntosh . . 3387	Woldock . . . 1539
Average vote	2832	1798

According to the official count the vote for Seitz, the people's party candidate for governor of Ohio is 23,510.

The farmers, Knights of Labor and people's party men of Michigan are to try to get together at Lansing on the 29th.

Weymouth (Mass.) Gazette: The address of the national committee of the people's party indicates an early beginning for an aggressive campaign in '92. The people's party seems to have made a complete capture of the alliance, and proposes to so conduct the campaign as to attract all labor organizations to its support. The address declares the time has come when no influence of the old political organizations, and no power of aggregated capital can prevent the hearty and unanimous coming together and co-operation of all the labor forces of the United States, whether employed in the workshop or the mine, or on the farm. By thus starting out so bravely immediately after the very small beginning made in the recent election, the leaders of the new third party show considerable courage and grit. There is fun ahead in some of the western and southern states where the alliance has been strongest. The influence which this movement will have upon the result next year cannot be calculated, but that it is likely to be felt it is easy to see both the old parties fear.

It is settled that the February conference of the reform and industrial bodies will be held at St. Louis. The central committee of the people's party will also assemble at that time, Washington's birthday, and plans will be matured for a people's party convention in June to put a presidential ticket in the field.

The Texas Farmers' alliance organized 52 sub-alliances between November 1 and 15. Iowa follows with 251 new sub-alliances within three months, Indiana with 200 new sub-alliances, Kansas with 20,000 new alliance members since January, California with quite as great an increase, Pennsylvania with a 10,000 increase of membership this year, Alabama with 31 new sub-alliances since August 15, Virginia with 300 new sub-alliances since January, Wisconsin with 500 new sub-alliances since January and so on. If

this is the way the alliance is "breaking up," there is a fair prospect for a first-class funeral out west, and in the south, and the democrats and republicans will be interested, we fancy, in the ceremonies.

In the 5th (Michigan) congressional district the people's party polled 969 votes last year and 5000 votes this year.

Correspondent of The New Nation from Saguache, Col: The people's party carried our county by large majorities except the district judge and commissioner. The state is ripe. All that is needed is sound education on the subject.

Missouri correspondent of The New Nation: I have been voting with the democratic party since my majority, but I hope the day is not far distant when I may have an opportunity to vote the nationalist ticket. I have just read the issue of the 21st, brim full of progressive, Christian and interesting news.

The readers of The New Nation will do well to remember that the people's party is not an ideal organization from the standpoint of nationalism. It is a reform body with its face set against trust, monopolies and Wall street, and as such commands respect. In Massachusetts the people's party has gone farther in the line of nationalism than in any other state. In its platform no less than eight planks out of 14 have a nationalistic flavor. The West has not yet reached such high ground. The February meeting at St. Louis will be awaited with deep interest, and it is very easy to see how if unwise counsels prevail and the line of battle decided upon is simply of a currency reform order, that not only nationalists but the labor contingent would look elsewhere for political affiliations. A great party cannot be built upon the ruins of over-due mortgages; because, if they were paid today, demoralizing riches and dire poverty would still exist in this country. The people are beginning to demand a change in our economic system, and no party can gain a foothold secure enough to fight effectively capital and the entrenched trusts and industries upon a plank the width of a greenback dollar. A majority of the voters of this country cannot go single file on so slender a plank across the abyss of a vicious political economy, which has already placed over 50 per cent of the wealth of the richest country on the globe into the hands of less than one per cent of the population, which one per cent pays less than 25 per cent of the taxes. A reformed currency will be a great relief; but it cannot do it all. Let the west and south think these things over in all soberness.

We predicted just after the November elections that the Boston press would print the actual returns from Kansas about Christmas time; but first might be expected sad stories of the downfall of the alliance in Kansas. The Boston Herald, which is often more enterprising than its local contemporaries, has not waited for Christmas. On

Tuesday last the Herald announced what the reform papers have been claiming for three weeks, — people's party gains in Kansas. It says: "The vote of Kansas in the late election seems to us of more significance than is generally supposed. The Farmers' alliance people well hold their own in this state, casting 113,000 votes out of a total of 350,000. This is an enormous third party, and one which evidently has it in its power to control the electoral vote of the state next year. If the democratic campaign is shrewdly managed, the whole of this will be likely to be cast against the republican nominee for the presidency."

Sundry Matters.

The republicans and democrats of Kansas are proceeding in their anti-Farmer's alliance program with such determination that there is really no reason to believe that it is a fight inspired by the national committee. The republico-democratic party of Kansas is maturing a plan to pass a bill appropriating \$5000 for the maintenance of a state agent at Washington. It is intended to humiliate Senator Pepper by the election in this manner of a proxy senator. The capitalists and corporations propose to recapture Kansas.

A prominent member of the people's party who attended the Indianapolis meetings, being asked to give in a word the results of the week's deliberations, replied: "The people's party made a clean sweep. All the delegates returned home with the determination to go into the fight next year upon a new party platform. I never saw more harmony between men coming from so many states as those at Indianapolis."

The Alliance still Formidable.

The Springfield Republican, which keeps a sharp eye upon the political situation in the West, says that in 65 counties in Kansas containing the bulk of the population, the Farmers' alliance vote in 1890 was 88,490, and this year 90,195. The Republican continues: "Scrutinizing the returns from the 30 counties in which the alliance in an off year made gains, one finds that a very considerable increase came from the eastern counties. In Bourbon county, containing the manufacturing city of Fort Scott, the alliance vote increased from 1869 to 2549, while the republican increase in the same county was from 2468 to 2624. The alliance also gained in Atchison county in greater ratio than the republicans did; while in Doniphan county at the extreme northeast corner of the state, the alliance vote jumped from 127 to 1082, while the republican vote decreased from 1936 to 1908. Other eastern counties in which the alliance showed increased strength were Anderson, Neosho, Jackson and Pottawatomie. The alliance's losses, like their gains, seem to have been well distributed over the state, showing that there was no revolt against the new political power on the lines of geographical division. The fact that the republicans made gains in 55 counties over last year's vote and also increased their aggregate, according to the basis furnished by the Kansas City Journal, by perhaps 15,000, are being emphasized by the republican newspapers in the West as showing that the alliance is rapidly disintegrating. This Kansas City contemporary refrained, with apparent design, from footing up the columns of figures it published, because the total gain the alliance had made in Kansas would appear as conspicuously as the increase made by the still dominant party. Remembering that the democrats aided the republicans this year rather than the alliance, it seems that the more figures are published concerning the Kansas elections three weeks ago the more reason there is

for thinking that the farmers' alliance still maintains a very formidable front in Kansas politics."

A TENANTS' RIGHTS BILL FROM ENGLAND.

Associated press dispatch from London: The Liberal leaders have decided to incorporate in the platform approved at the Newcastle conference an English tenants' rights bill. This decision is one of the most important steps that the responsible chiefs of the party have ever taken. The magnitude of the liberal victory at South Moulton, and the conviction that the capture of the rural vote by the liberals will bring them overwhelming success in the general elections, have lifted the measure in favor of tenant farmers into the front rank of liberal proposals. Since the South Moulton election the *teary Globe* has led the way in advocating the adoption in England of the principles of the Irish land purchase act. The laborer must have power to acquire small plots of land cheaply and through simple methods and the state must also assist farmers to become owners after a certain number of years without paying more than the customary rents. This was the tenor of speakers' opinions at an informal gathering of influential conservatives at the Carlton club, and it has been communicated to Lord Salisbury. The drift of opinion at the national liberal club is in favor of giving the farmers judicial rents, fixed, as in Ireland, for a definite period, and purchasing powers similar to those granted by the Ashbourne act.

MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC LIGHT PLANTS PAY.

T. S. Ford, mayor of Mitchell, Ontario, writes to a gentleman in Providence, R.I. as follows: In reply to your inquiry regarding electric lighting I beg to say that our electric light plant is owned and run by the town. We have a 75 light plant; it cost us complete nearly \$4,000. Our engine and boiler, which supply the power for both the water works and electric light, cost about \$2500. We charge for our arc lights, 2000 candle power, 14 cents per night, and run them from dark until midnight. Last year the revenue from our private lights, such as shops, hotels, etc., covered the running expenses of our entire plant, including interest on capital invested (all but \$340), which amount was charged against our street lights, 20 in number. So you see our 20 street lights did not cost us quite \$16 per year. The best offer we had from a company before the town took hold of it was \$600 for 10 lights, or \$60 each per year. We have had our plant in operation a little over two years, and it has not cost the town \$25 for repairs.

A SCHEDULE OF ADULTERATION PROPOSED.

National Weekly (Kansas): An Illinois merchant who was taking baking powder in bulk from a Chicago firm called at headquarters the other day to say that there was something wrong with the goods.

"I don't think so," was the reply; "we make the best article sold in the west."

"I think we ought to have a more perfect understanding," continued the dealer. "Now, then, you adulterate before you send to me; then I adulterate before I ship; then the retailer adulterates before he sells, and the consumer can't be blamed for growling. I want to see if we can't agree on some schedule to be followed."

"What do you mean?"

"Why, suppose you put in 10 per cent of chalk; then I put in 20 per cent of whitening; then the retailer puts in 30 per cent of flour. That gives the consumer about 40 per cent of baking powder, and unless he's a born hog he'll be perfectly satisfied. You see, if you adulterate 50 per cent on the start and I adulterate as much more, and the retailer adulterates as much more as both together, it's mighty hard for the consumer to tell whether he's investing in baking powder or putty. We must give him something for his money, if it's only chalk."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Lesser Forms of Business Combination toward Complete National Co-operation.

Ohio.

Prof. Perry L. Hobbs, under direction of the city authorities, has been testing the gas in Cleveland, and in his report shows that the gas companies have increased the pressure to about double what it should be, thereby increasing the consumption of gas in the same ratio. The Cleveland Press says that "this is only the first of many tests that will be made at times and places with which the gas companies are not conversant, and more interesting developments are expected.

The mayor of Cleveland, in speaking of the trouble the city is having with the gas companies, said: We have the authority now to build a gas plant, and all that is necessary is to have the Legislature pass the necessary bill, so that we can issue bonds. If the local company cannot make gas at a profit for 60 cents, they are away behind the times. I am sure that the city can make gas for consumers at 60 cents, and also manufacture enough for its own use. This would reduce the lighting tax, \$100,000 to \$150,000. The city has operated a waterworks system in the best of shape for many years and I can't see why it cannot operate a gas manufactory?

Cleveland World: There is no hope of any satisfactory arrangements as to price or quality of gas or proper pressure being obtained so long as this municipality is dependent upon the companies at present holding a practical monopoly of the gas business in this city. These companies are in the hands of grasping and antiquated fogies who are determined to conduct their business on the outgrown plan of a generation ago and devote their attention mainly to devising ways and means for counteracting any attempt to regulate or curtail their outrageous profits. The only hope of relief lies in the city owning and operating its own gas plant. There is nothing in law or equity to stand in the way of this, and while such actions savor of paternalism it is the sort of paternalism that will be certainly profitable to all the citizens of the municipality

Massachusetts.

At a recent town meeting the voters of Wakefield instructed the selectmen to petition the Legislature for a special act to enable the town to construct and maintain an electric light plant, and thus avoid the necessity of purchasing the plant of the Wakefield Gas and Electric company, as is required under general law passed last winter.

Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz is delivering a course of lectures before the Somerville nationalist club.

Maine.

The trustees of the Maine state college have voted to make room rent free to the students, and next year it is proposed to take such action that the only expense to students will be their board, and that will be reduced to the minimum.

Virginia.

There are 15,000,000 acres of available land lying idle in the state, owned, it is claimed, by large holders.

Illinois.

The Kirkland association of Chicago has opened a lunch club for working-girls. It has a library, reading room and dining room, and by paying 10 cents a month girls can

become members and enjoy all the privileges of the club. The dining room is a large apartment, filled with small tables; the matron presides over the room and from a small counter serves luncheon to the girls, each one waiting upon themselves. The fare is good and very cheap.

Rhode Island.

Providence Telegram: The city pays \$160.60 a year per light for electric lights for its streets. The same service is procured in other cities that own and operate their electric plants at from \$40 to \$65. Providence taxpayers present to the Narragansett Electric Lighting company the neat sum of \$73,134.75 every year. Why do they do it?

Pennsylvania.

The coal miners get 79 cents per ton for mining coal and putting it on the car.

Kentucky.

Gas is being manufactured in Marysville for five cents per thousand feet. A full description of the entire process and the machinery is given in a letter from J. O. Lee, assistant manager of the plant, to the mayor of Cleveland, O., and it may prove to be the means of settling the controversy now going on in the latter city between the gas companies and the citizens. Mr. Lee states in his letter that the gas produced by them can be enriched at a slight expense, so as to make it an illuminating gas of any desired candle power, and that the light produced by it is much brighter than the ordinary gas light, and that it is soft and mellow to the eye.

California.

A most interesting case is being tried in San Francisco. The treasury department caused the seizure of several cargoes of horseshoes, nails, etc., that were shipped from New York to European ports, and then returned to San Francisco. The purpose of this round-about voyaging was to reduce the freight charges to a reasonable figure. The defendants, four firms, allege that there is a combination between the various railroad and steamship lines for the purpose of extorting excessive rates from merchants in California, and that it has been carried to such an extent it was cheaper to ship the goods in the way indicated.

Secretary of the Interior Noble has rendered a decision against the land claims of the Kaweah colonists. The effect of this decision will be to drive them from their lands and to forfeit all their improvements.

Missouri.

An alliance butcher shop has been started in St. Joseph, in opposition to the Armour combine, and indications point to the establishment of many others in various parts of the state.

The upper branch of the city council of Kansas City has passed an ordinance providing for municipal ownership of gasoline street lighting. The citizens are now anxiously awaiting the action of the lower branch.

Louisiana.

The New Orleans city council recently granted exclusive privileges to the Louisiana Electric Light company, and the Municipal Ice company, both companies being mainly owned by one man, Maurice Hart. The mayor promptly vetoed both ordinances on the ground that undue influence had been exerted over the city council, and that valuable privileges had been given without any return, and against the peoples' interests.

Wisconsin.

Milwaukee Advance: Five years more of bondage to the electric light and gas monopoly has been decreed by the men who have been elected fathers of the city by the voters

of Milwaukee, and our people can now pay \$112.50 a year for 800 candle power electric lights while 2000 candle power lights can be had for \$60, and pay \$22 and \$25 a year for gas lights that are well paid at half the sum.

Connecticut.

New Haven News: The public pay the New Haven Water company eight per cent dividends on about a quarter of a million dollars of watered stock, besides eight per cent dividends on \$1,156,000 of prior capitalization, not to mention whatever surplus the water company may be accumulating.

Tennessee.

After a consultation between Gov. Buchanan, the prison inspectors and representatives of the Tennessee Coal and Iron company, the inspectors passed an order for the return of the convicts to the places from which they were driven by the armed bodies of free miners.

New York.

Some months ago, when the price of gas in Brooklyn was reduced, under compulsion, from \$1.50 to \$1.25, many owners of gas stock were eager to sell, but recently the price has advanced rapidly and is found to be due to the fact that a combination is proposed between the Brooklyn company which makes the expensive coal gas, and Fulton municipal, which furnishes the cheaper water gas. A far more extensive union of gas interests is proposed in the near future.

Colorado.

The following communication to The New Nation is from Denver: "The board of aldermen passed a franchise granting to the gas company unlimited rights for 20 years. The mayor vetoed this measure, and the board immediately passed it over the veto by vote of 7 to 2, although the daily papers opposed the bill. It is well known that the gas company has sold out to the Consolidated Electric Light company, in bonds of the Consolidated company, and now this monopoly has complete control of all lighting facilities here. They have raised prices recently, and after matters have quieted down will doubtless again raise them. They charge \$200 a year for arc lights on the outskirts of the city. I should like to know, — are the people of Denver compelled to submit to the exactions of this light company when their franchise is well known to have been obtained by bribing the aldermen that granted it."

Miscellaneous.

The representatives of the coal roads met last week in New York and decided to restrict the production of coal for the month of December to 3,250,000 tons. It is any trick so long as the consumers do not kick.

Cincinnati Express Gazette: The parcels post service in Europe affords an interesting study to the American traveler, especially if he be an expressman. On the Continent, the governments generally own and control the railroads, and the parcels service is, of course, a distinct department. If there be any ambitious American who still entertains an idea that Europe is an inviting field for an American express system, he might as well dispel it as a delusion. Every American who has investigated the subject has come to that conclusion. The railroad system of Hungary is one of the best managed in Europe. It is under the direct management of Gabriel Baross, the minister of railroads and commerce. The minister is a remarkable man, being progressive and enlightened in his ideas. In America he would be considered a model railroad manager. He invented the famous zone railroad tariff system, which has equalized railroad fares, so that one cent per mile is about the average, and travel has nearly trebled in two years. The scheme is a great beneficial and public success, and has

been much discussed by American railroad men. The train service in Hungary is admirable, and the traffic, which is constantly growing, is handled with splendid system and dispatch.

Locomotive Engineers' Journal: The poor, the ones who are deprived of their natural right to the means by which life, liberty and happiness are secured to each — the right to the use of natural opportunities — have been increasing rapidly during the past generation, and entirely out of proportion to the number that have acquired wealth; and, unless checked, another generation will experience conditions of inequality that has never been known before in the history of the world. Small merchants are fast becoming the clerks in the large establishments, small manufacturers working in large shops, general business men the servants of the trusts.

A consolidation of the 27 breweries in Cincinnati, O., and Newport and Covington, Ky., is said to have been agreed upon by all except two. The plan is to consolidate by incorporation under the Ohio law, vest the authority in a board of trustees who would have control of the central office, but each brewery be managed by its present owners.

The purchase of the Druid cotton duck mills at Woodberry, Md., by the directors of the Woodberry Manufacturing company, has revived the rumors of a cotton duck trust to control that commodity. A strong effort has been made for the past six months to effect the necessary combination, and all parties interested now look forward to such a consummation. They say it will not be a trust, but a corporation similar to the Standard Oil company.

Foreign.

The drug stores of Germany are under government control, being limited in number and the attendants must pass a government examination. At the last session of the Reichstag the socialists introduced a bill for government ownership, and the sale of medicines at cost.

President Carnot of France has signed a bill establishing a board of arbitration to settle labor disputes. While the decisions of the board will not have any legal sanction, their moral force will be important.

The government of Japan gets a large proportion of its revenue from the railroad and telegraph lines, which it owns and operates.

The Farmers' alliance has endorsed the boycott of the Clothing Exchange of Rochester, N. Y., inaugurated by the Knights of Labor.

The principal continental transatlantic steamship companies have come to an understanding in regard to rates, thus doing away with all competition between them.

The dry goods clerks of Montreal, Canada, are to present a numerously signed petition to the city council, asking the passage of a by-law closing dry goods stores at six p. m. The movement has received the endorsement of the Central Trades and Labor council of the city, and the general public are in full sympathy with it.

It will be remembered that the great labor strike threatened in Belgium last summer was averted by the promise of the government to grant the demand for universal suffrage. But the promises not being fulfilled, a meeting was held at Seraing recently, and the delegates of the various labor organizations gathered there decided to inaugurate another great strike if the promises were not shortly carried out. At present no person is allowed to vote unless paying direct taxes to the amount of \$8, and this qualification limits the exercise of this privilege to 21.82 in every 1000 of the population.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

Adopted in Massachusetts August 24, 1891.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, in conference assembled, recognizing that the condition of industry and of society as based upon it is alarming, and believing that neither of the old parties is disposed to abandon the financial, industrial and economic policies that have led to the present perilous concentration of the wealth of the nation in the hands of a few, do hereby resolve and declare:

That we endorse the action of the conference at Cincinnati, May 19-20, 1891, proposing issues upon which to form a people's party.

We hold that the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. Hence we demand that United States treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis, such notes to be a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private, being increased or decreased in volume by a commission according to a fixed rule in proportion to the population and the average market price of a given number of commodities.

We favor the establishment of postal savings banks which could be also used as banks of deposit and exchange, thus affording for all absolute security. Postal facilities including frequent mails, free delivery and a cheaper parcel post, should be enjoyed, as far as practicable, by the country and farming districts.

We hold that every man owes the community in which he lives his share of the taxes in proportion to his abilities, the best general measure of which is his wealth and its earning capacity; that taxation, therefore, after the allowance of certain reasonable exemptions to poverty and to educational, charitable and religious institutions, should rest upon all property alike. We, therefore, condemn the laxity of our laws which permits the escape from taxation of immense amounts of personal property by tax-dodging and unjust exemption, and we demand the enactment of laws that will remedy this evil. We likewise favor a graduated tax upon inheritances.

We favor government ownership of all means of transportation and communication; and, in general, when in the course of business consolidations in the form of trusts or private syndicates, it becomes evident that any branch of commerce is used for the profit of a few men at the expense of the general public, we believe that the people should assume control of such commerce through their national, state or municipal administrations. We therefore favor a general statute under which cities or towns in this commonwealth may acquire or establish local transit systems, or substitute public ownership for private monopoly when demanded by the people, such as the opening by cities or towns of public coal yards to furnish coal and fuel at cost.

We oppose the granting of municipal franchises to private corporations for terms of years.

We believe that the solution of the liquor problem lies in abolishing the element of profit, which is a source of constant temptation and evil; and we therefore demand that the exclusive importation, manufacture and sale of all spirituous liquors shall be conducted by the government or state at cost through agencies and salaried officials in such towns and cities as shall apply for such agencies. And we further commend this principle to the national convention for adoption under such conditions as may be determined upon by the various states.

We demand that all public employees, whether industrial or other, be protected from political interference by a system excluding favoritism in admissions or promotions, and securing employees from discharge except for cause approved by a judicial board. We also demand for all public em-

ployees moderate hours and humane conditions of labor with provision for accident and disability in the line of duty.

We demand that not more than eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for public employees, and we further commend this principle to all employers of labor, thereby reducing the hours of labor and increasing the number of employees; that not more than eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for women and children, and that the school age of children be raised; that a system of industrial training in connection with the public schools be made general throughout the state; that equal pay for equal work without regard to sex, color, or condition be recognized by law; that the employment of private armed bodies, such as the Pinkertons, be made a penal offense.

We demand that provision be made to restrain the immigration of paupers, vicious characters and other undesirable persons without discrimination against honest poverty; that convicts should be employed by the state and not let out to private contractors, and that the product of their labor should not be put upon the market below prevailing rates.

We hold that no citizen of the United States should be deprived of the electoral franchise on account of sex.

We favor annual state elections, and also the election and compensation of the state board of arbitration and the railroad commissioners by the people.

We favor insurance by the state and in the meanwhile as an effective means of preventing fraudulent adjustment and unnecessary fires, resulting from over-insurance, we demand legislation requiring fire-insurance companies to pay the full amount stated in the policy in case of total loss.

We protest against legislation tending to bring medical practice under the control of any particular schools of medicine.

We protest against the contract system as used in the employment of labor by the government of town, city or state, and demand the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will end this pernicious practice.

WHAT THE PEOPLE'S PARTY HAS DONE.

It has elected 43 congressmen and United States senators.

It has perfected organizations in over 15 states, and is carrying on spirited contests in Ohio, Iowa, Colorado, Nebraska, South Dakota, Kansas, Massachusetts, Maine, and other states.

It has polled 30,000 votes in Ohio.

It has polled 27,000 votes in Kentucky after a short campaign of six weeks, and holds the balance of power in the Legislature.

It has elected 93 members of the Kansas Legislature, and polled a 10 per cent larger vote this year than last.

It has secured the balance of power in the Georgia Legislature, and is no mean factor at half a dozen other state capitols.

It came within 5000 votes of beating a republican and democratic fusion in Nebraska.

It has called into being eight hundred reform newspapers owned by men who have no fear of the old parties.

It has demonstrated that fusion is bad politics, being a league for temporary advantage at the expense of principle.

It has forced the old parties to fuse in several states.

It has brought the farmer, the wage worker, and the average citizen upon a common platform.

It has gained a position where it can, in good time, call a halt upon Wall street for cornering the metal basis of the national currency, and upon trusts for swindling the public, and upon capitalists for forcing inhuman and unjust conditions on labor, and upon tax-dodgers for throwing the money burdens of state off on the poorer classes.

It has proclaimed that the time has come to legislate upon something besides the tariff, and that the language of sectional dispute has become obsolete.

THE NEW NATION.

[From our issue of Jan. 31.]

Why a New Nation? Why will not the old one do?

These are some of the reasons why it will not do: In the old nation, the system by which the work of life is carried on is a sort of perpetual warfare, a struggle, literally to the death, between men and men. It is a system by which the contestants are forced to waste in fighting more effort than they have left for work. The sordid and bitter nature of the struggle so hardens, for the most part, the relations of men to their fellows that in the domestic circle alone do they find exercise for the better, tenderer and more generous elements of their nature.

Another reason why the old nation will not do, is, that in it the people are divided, against nature, into classes: one very small class being the wealthy; another and much larger class being composed of those who maintain with difficulty a condition of tolerable comfort constantly shadowed by apprehension of its loss; with, finally, a vastly greater and quite preponderating class of very poor, who have no dependence even for bare existence save a wage which is uncertain from day to day.

In the old nation, moreover, half the people—the women, are dependent upon the personal favor of the other half,—the men, for the means of support; no other alternative being left them but to seek a beggarly pittance as workers in a labor market already overcrowded by men. In this old nation, the women, are, indeed, as a sex, far worse off than the men; for, while the rich man is at least independent, the rich woman, while more luxuriously cared for, is as dependent for support on her husband's favor as the wife of the poorest laborer. Meanwhile, a great many women openly, and no one can tell how many secretly, unable to find men who will support them on more honorable terms, are compelled to secure their livelihood by the sale of their bodies, while a multitude of others are constrained to accept loveless marriage bonds.

In this old nation, a million strong men are even now vainly crying out for work to do, though the world needs so much more work done. Meanwhile, though the fathers and husbands can find no work, there is plenty always for the little children, who flock, in piteous armies, through the chilling mists of winter dawns into the factories.

In this old nation, not only does wealth devour poverty, but wealth devours wealth, and, easy by year, the assets of the nation pass more and more swiftly and completely into the hands of a few score individuals out of 65,000,000 people.

In this old nation, year by year, the natural wealth of the land, the heritage of the people, is being wasted by the recklessness of individual greed. The forests are ravaged, the fisheries of river and sea destroyed, the fertility of the soil exhausted.

In this old nation, under a vain form of free political institutions, the inequalities of wealth and the irresistible influence of money upon a people devoured by want, are making nominally republican institutions a machine more convenient even than despotism for the purposes of plutocracy and plunder.

These are a few of the reasons why the old nation will not do, and these, in turn, are a few of the reasons why men are looking and longing for The New Nation:—

In The New Nation, work will not be warfare, but fraternal co-operation toward a store in which all will share alike. Human effort, no longer wasted by battle and cross-purposes, will create an abundance previously impossible.

More important far, the conditions of labor under the plan of fraternal co-operation will tend as strongly to stimulate fraternal sentiments and affectionate relations among the workers as the present conditions tend to repress them. The kindly side of men will no longer be known only to their wives and children.

In The New Nation, there will be neither rich nor poor; all will be equal partners in the product of the national industrial organization.

In The New Nation, the dependence of one sex upon another for livelihood, which now poisons love and gives lust its opportunity, will be forever at an end. As equal and independent partners in the product of the nation, women will have attained an economical enfranchisement, without which no political device could help them. Prostitution will be a forgotten horror.

In The New Nation, there will be no unemployed. All will be enabled and required to do their part according to their gifts, save only those whom age, sickness or infirmity has exempted; and these, no longer as now trodden under foot, will be served and guarded as tenderly as are the wounded in battle by their comrades.

In The New Nation, the children will be cherished as precious jewels, inestimable pledges of the divine love to men. Though mother and father forsake them, the nation will take them up.

In The New Nation, education will be equal and universal, and will cover the entire period of life during which it is now enjoyed by the most favored classes.

In The New Nation, the wasting of the people's heritage will cease, the forests will be replanted, the rivers and seas repopulated, and fertility restored to exhausted lands. The natural resources of the country will be cared for and preserved as a common estate, and one to which the living have title only as trustees for the unborn.

In The New Nation, the debauching influence of wealth being banished, and the people raised to a real equality by equal education and resources, a true democratic and popular government will become possible as it never was before. For the first time in history the world will behold a true republic, rounded, full-orbed, complete,—a republic, social, industrial, political.

These will be some of the characteristics of The New Nation, to the advancement of which, till it shall have utterly replaced and supplanted the old nation, this paper is pledged.

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Boston.—First Nationalist Club. Reception rooms at 184 Boylston street; open daily. Information and publications on Nationalism furnished to any desiring them. Regular meeting of the Club, 2d Wednesday of each month.

Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Haverhill.—First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Meeting every Sunday evening at 8 P. M., at 73 Merimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.) Rooms open every evening.

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

South Framingham, Mass.—Club does not meet regularly. W. D. McPherson, secretary, solicits correspondence and pamphlets for distribution.

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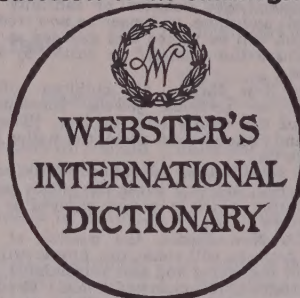
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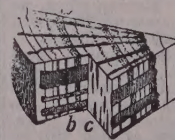
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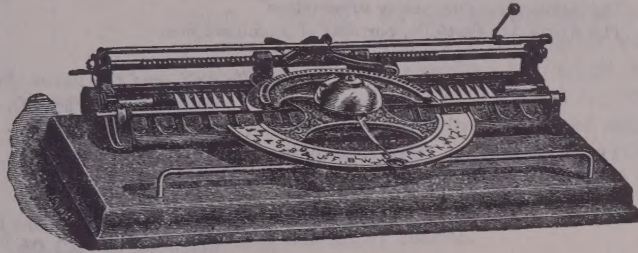
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